

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 HA-05

/118 W

-----067031 110726Z /21

R 110118Z NOV 77

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7310

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4572

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNGA, OAU, SS

SUBJ: UNGA SAHARA DEBATE - WRAPUP

REF: USUN 4508 AND PREVIOUS (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: NOVEMBER 9 ADOPTION OF CONSENSUS RESOLUTION ON SAHARA SPARED MANY (INCLUDING USG) THE PROBLEM OF ADDRESSING THE SAHARA QUESTION AT UN. BASED ON TENOR OF FIVE DAYS OF DEBATE, WE BELIEVE THAT HAD DEBATE ENDED IN A HEAD-TO-HEAD CONFLICT BETWEEN PRO-MOROCCAN AND PRO-ALGERIANS RESOLUTIONS, ALGERIA WOULD HAVE WON. WE BELIEVE ALGERIANS AGREED TO COMPROMISE BECAUSE THEIR PRIMARY GOAL WAS TO INCREASE PRESSURE FOR EARLY HOLDING OF OAU SUMMIT. SUPPORT FOR ALGERIAN POSITION REFLECTS GENERALLY ACCEPTED VIEW THAT SELF-DETERMINATION HAS NOT TAKEN PLACE IN SAHARA AS WELL AS SLOWLY MOUNTING CONCERN THAT NOT ONLY IS THERE NO END IN SIGHT TO WAR IN

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SAHARA BUT THAT THE CONFLICT MAY BE EXPANDING.

MISSION BELIEVES THAT UNLESS SITUATION IN SAHARA NOTICEABLY IMPROVES OVER NEXT YEAR, MOROCCO WILL NOT GET OFF SO EASILY IN FUTURE UN DEBATE.

MISSION RECOMMENDS THIS POINT BE MADE TO MOROCCANS DURING UPCOMING VISIT, THUS PROVIDING QUIET PUSH TOWARDS OVERCOMING MOROCCAN RESISTANCE TO HOLDING OF OAU SUMMIT AND

AFRICAN SETTLEMENT OF SAHARAN QUESTION. END SUMMARY.

1. UNGA FOURTH COMMITTEE DEBATE ON SAHARA QUESTION FROM OCTOBER 31 TO NOVEMBER 9 SAW BROADSCALE ATTACK ON MOROCCO AND TO SOMEWHAT LESSER EXTENT MAURITANIA OVER QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR SAHARAN PEOPLE. VOCAL SUPPORT FOR MOROCCAN/MAURITANIA POSITION ON SELF-DETERMINATION WAS LIMITED TO HARDLINE CONSERVATIVES SUCH AS IRAN AND SAUDI ARABIA. WHAT MUST HAVE BEEN MORE DISTRESSING FROM MOROCCAN POINT OF VIEW WAS LACK OF SUPPORT (OR OPEN ATTACK) OF THEIR POSITION BY AFRICAN MODERATES SUCH AS KENYA, ZAMBIA, LESOTHO AND SIERRA LEONE. IN ADDITION, INFLUENTIAL AFRICAN DELEGATIONS SUCH AS NIGERIA WERE LEANING TOWARDS PRO-ALGERIAN POSITION WHILE TANZANIANS ACTIVELY OPPOSED MOROCCO-MAURITANIA POSITION.

2. CLEAR PERCEPTION BY AFRICAN AND MANY OTHER DELEGATION THAT MOROCCAN INTRANSIGENCE HAD SO FAR PREVENTED OAU SPECIAL SUMMIT WAS APPARENT. THIS PERCEPTION WAS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED IN CALLS FROM FLOOR FOR EARLY CONVEING OF OAU SUMMIT. WHILE IT IS STILL UNCLEAR IF ALGERIANS CAN YET MUSTER NECESSARY TWO-THIRDS OF AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE FOR SUMMIT, WE BELIEVE THAT ALGERIANS, BY PASSAGE OF CONSENSUS RESOLUTION, HAVE GAINED ADDITIONAL SUPPORT. IF SUMMIT IS NOT HELD, WE BELIEVE AFRICANS WOULD FEEL ALGERIA FULLY JUSTIFIED IN OPENING FULL-SCALE BATTLE AT UN NEXT
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YEAR.

3. IT IS EVIDENT THAT MOROCCO HAS LOST SOME SUPPORT FROM DELEGATIONS, WHO IN 1975-1976, HOPED FOR "QUICK FIX" OF SAHARAN QUESTION BASED ON MADRID AGREEMENT TO PARTITION SAHARA. AS WAR IN SAHARA CONTINUES, AND PARTICULARLY IF POTENTIAL FOR OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT GROWS, MISSION BELIEVES OTHER DELEGATIONS WILL TAKE SECOND LOOK AND REACH CONCLUSION THAT "QUICK FIX" IS NOT WORKING AND THAT SOME FORM OF COMPROMISE SOLUTION REQUIRED.

4. BASED ON ANALYSIS OF DEBATE AND PRIVATELY EXPRESSED VIEWS OF DELEGATIONS, WE BELIEVE THAT, HAD DEBATE ENDED IN HEAD-TO-HEAD CONFLICT BETWEEN PRO-MOROCCAN AND PRO-ALGERIAN RESOLUTIONS, ALGERIANS HAD SUPPORT OF MAJORITY OF OAU MEMBERS. THESE INCLUDE: SAO TOME, MOZAMBIQUE, ETHIOPIA, ZAMBIA, COMOROS, KENYA? MADAGASCAR, SIERRA LEONE, LESOTHO, CAPE VERDE, GHANA, CONGO, ANGOLA, LIBYA, BENIN, TANZANIA, GUINEA, GUINEA-BISSAU, MALI, UGANDA, TOGO, BURUNDI, RWANDA AND EQUATORIAL GUINEA. IN ADDITION, NIGERIANS WERE LEANING TOWARDS ALGERIAN POSITION. MOROCCANS AND MAURITANIANS ON OTHER HAND COULD ONLY COUNTER ON MAURITIUS,

GABON, ZAIRE, CHAD, SUDAN, EGYPT, SENEGAL, AND PROBABLY
THE CAE.

5. WITH RESPECT TO NON-AFRICAN STATES, MOROCCANS HAD
VOCAL SUPPORT FROM SAUDI ARABIA, IRAN, FRANCE, MALAYA,
INDONESIA AND PHILIPPINES. ALGERIANS IN CONTRAST HAD
SUPPORT FROM TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, CYPRUS, OMAN, CUBA,
VIETNAM, PDRY, GUYANA, BARBADOS, PERU, BAHAMAS, YUGO-
SLAVIA, HAITI, SEYCHELLES, AND EASTERN EUROPEAN BLOC,
WITH UNSTATED SUPPORT FROM CHINA AND ALBANIA. NORDICS
LEANED TOWARD STAND ON PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION,
AND EC-9 SPLIT BETWEEN SUPPORTERS OF MOROCCO AND THOSE
WHO WISHED TO ABSTAIN (INCLUDING UK). SPANISH WOULD HAVE
BEEN IN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT POSITON IN EVENT OF VOTING,
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BUT WOULD HAVE FOUND IT MOST DIFFICULT TO AVOID SUPPORTING
CALL FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN SAHARA.

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 HA-05
/118 W

-----067225 110729Z /21

R 110118Z NOV 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7311
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 4572

6. IN SUM, IF COMMITTEE HAD HAD TO VOTE ON PRO-MOROCCAN DRAFT AND PRO-ALGERIAN DRAFT (WHICH WAS NOVER FORMALLY INTRODUCED) WE BELIEVE MOROCCANS WOULD HAVE COME OUTSECONDBEST. WE BELIEVE ALGERIANS DID NOT PUSH HARD-LINE VIEW AS HARD AS THEY COULD HAVE OUT OF FEAR OF GIVING MOROCCANS FURTHER EXCUSE FOR ABORTING OAU SUMMIT. ALGERIANS CAREFULLY LIMITED THEIR BOTTOM LINE DEMANDS TO CALL FOR EARLY SUMMIT MEETING PLUS CONTINUED UN CONSIDERATION OF SAHARAN QUESTION.

7. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES, MISSION BELIEVES POINT SHOULD BE MADE TO MOROCCANS DURING UPCOMING VISIT OF HASSAN THAT UNLESS SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS OCCURS ON THE QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE WESTERN SAHARA PRIOR TO NEXT GA, USG BELIEVES MOROCCO WILL FIND EVEN FEWER ALLIES ON FLOOR OF NEXT GENERAL ASSEMBLY. MISSION BELIEVES MAKING POINT WOULD BE QUIET PUSH TOWARDS OVERCOMING MOROCCAN

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RESISTANCE TO HOLDING OF OAU SUMMIT AND AFRICAN SETTLEMENT OF SAHARAN QUESTION.
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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Type: TE
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Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009